

000

/121/ Notes on the Terms and the Kinship System of the Tukano

by Marcos Fulop

/Page 122 is blank. An errata sheet appears between pp. 122 and 123. The errata have been corrected in the text of the translation./

114
[101]

(124)
(614)
(615)

/123/ The material that is presented here was collected in the period between June 11 and September 9, 1954, during our stay in the hamlet /Sp. caserío/ of Guadalajara, located on the Paca River, a tributary of the Papurí /Papury/ River, in the Comisaría Especial del Vaupés /Uaupés/. Performing the duties of informant and interpreter were Marcos Sierra and Manuel Sierra, respectively, two blood brothers, members of the patrilineal sib /Sp. sib/ Urémirí Sáraro and of the phratry /Sp. fratría/ Yepá Bajúarí Majsá.

615
• 361
197
619
615
571
* 574
[601]
[101]

615
197
124
114

[124]

As the investigation went deeper, we became aware of the existence of five phratries, located at great distances from one another, and each one of them speaking a different idiom, since they have adopted the language of their nearest neighbors. It could be proved, nevertheless, that there is a consciousness of tribal unity upon observing the conduct of native members of other phratries each time that these landed or spent the night in Guadalajara. On each occasion the Tukano /Tucano/ visitors who did not belong to the Yepá Bajúarí Majsá phratry used the correspondent kinship terms in their dealings with the Sierra brothers (Urémirí Sáraro sib), and when they were asked to which tribe they belonged, they answered that it was to the tribe Yepá Majsá (Yepá = Land; Majsá = People), which is the name with which the Tukano designate themselves. Sometimes the Tukano who belonged to other phratries did not speak the Tukana /Tucano/ language, and on these occasions Marcos Sierra acted as interpreter for the rest of the inhabitants of Guadalajara. The difficulties of the great distances made it impossible for us to visit other sibs of the Yepá Bajúarí Majsá phratry, and, similarly, none of the remaining four phratries. Therefore, the present study is limited by this factor, as all our information has come from Marcos Sierra, member of the Urémirí Sáraro sib, of the Yepá Bajúarí Majsá phratry, and shaman of the hamlet of Guadalajara.

/146 cont./

YEPA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs belonging to this phratry are located on the Paca, Papurí /Papury/ and Tiquié rivers, and on the Vaupés /Uaupéa/ River from the stream of Umarí to the confluence of the Vaupés River with the Río Negro. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Tukano. The sibs that form this phratry can be divided into two artificial groups that correspond to patterns of kinship and are the following:

LIST "A"

- (1) Yúpuri Baúro (B) (1) (2) Yepára Oakajpeá (+) (2)
 (3) Yepára Oyé (B) (4) Yepára Suf (C) (3)

1. The B in front /sic/ of the name of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Brazilian territory.

2. The + in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib has disappeared.

3. The C in front /sic/ of a sib means that this sib is at present living in Colombian territory.

/147/

- (5) Bejsémi Kulseré (C) (6) Ajúsiro Sóbaro (B)
 (7) Suf Makúpi (C) (8) Ajkító Netedejka (C)
 (9) Kemáru Isiadejpuá (+) (10) Yúpuri Pamó (B)
 (11) Yepára Merú (C) (12) Yúpuri Uajsóro Marí (C)
 (13) Servi Bojsé (C) (14) Doétiro Mimísipé (C)
 (15) Ajkító Pató (C) (16) Kemáru Kuku (C)
 (17) Urémiri Sioropo Bayá (B) (18) Urémiri Sáraro (C)
 (19) Parisí (B) (20) Yúpuri Búbera (B)
 (21) Ajúsiro Merí (B) (22) Najóri Dipé (B)
 (23) Yáitoro (C) (24) Urémiri Sakuro (C)
 (25) Buú Púra (B) (26) Suf Amoperí (B)
 (27) Ajúsiro Turo (B) (28) Aru Perí (B)

/149 cont./

- *601
614 (7) The sons of Yúpuri Baúro call the sister of Suf Ajpuékeri:
Uaméu. The sons of Suf Ajpuékeri call the sister of
Yúpuri Baúro: Uaméu.
Etc.

Examples of kinship terms used among the components of LIST "B."

- (1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mé.
- (2) Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Meké.
- (3) The son of Umu Sasí calls the son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu:
Nijjá, since Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Nijjá.
- (4) The son of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the son of Umu Sasí:
Mamí, since Pijkóse Báse Kúmu denominates Umu Sasí:
Mamí.
- (5) Umu Sasí calls the daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Majkó.
Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls the daughter of Umu Sasí: Majkó.
- (6) The daughter of Umu Sasí calls Pijkóse Báse Kúmu: Mengué.
The daughter of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu calls Umu Sasí: Mengué.
- (7) The sons of Umu Sasí call the sister of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu:
Uaméu. The sons of Pijkóse Báse Kúmu call the sister of
Umu Sasí: Uaméu.

Examples of kinship terms used between the Component Sibs of LIST "A" and the Component Sibs of LIST "B."

- (1) The son of Umu Sasí calls Yúpuri Baúro: Meké, since the
father of Yúpuri Baúro and the son of Umu Sasí are siblings.
- (2) Yúpuri Baúro denominates the son of Umu Sasí: Mé.
- (3) The son of Yúpuri Baúro calls the son of Umu Sasí: Pajké-Ró.
- (4) The son of Umu Sasí denominates the son of Yúpuri Baúro:
Yéé Párame.

/150/

MIRIAPURA DIARA MAJSA

- 614 The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers
[615] Pirá-paraná, Apaporis, Cananari, and Tuy. They speak the idiom
[36] traditionally known by the name of Carapaná. It consists of the
[197] following sibs:

* 601 /151 cont./

614

- (7) The sons of Mumíá Pajkáre denominate the sister of Séra Majsé: Uaméu. The sons of Séra Majsé denominate the sister of Mumíá Pajkáre: Uaméu.
- (8) The son of Yajuána denominates Mumíá Pajkáre: Meké, since the father of Mumíá Pajkáre and the son of Yajuána are siblings.
- (9) Mumíá Pajkáre calls the son of Yajuána: Mé.
- (10) The son of Mumíá Pajkáre denominates the son of Yajuána: Pajké-Ró.
- (11) The son of Yajuána calls the son of Mumíá Pajkáre: Yéé Párame.

614
[615]

• [361]
[197]

ÑUJKUA DIARA MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located at the headwaters of the Tiquié River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Barasano. It consists of the following sibs:

- (1) Miriápurí Bajuarí Majsé — Bará Majsé (C)
 (2) Buajá Najkoroá (C) (3) Ñujkuá (C)
 (4) Uamúta Nárague (C) (5) Uamúta Dáyarogue (C)

601
614

Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Ñujkuá Diara Majsa phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-4), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijlá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (4-1), the last one calls the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 4 denominate 5 (Uamúta Dáyarogue): Pajké-Ró.

Number 5 (Uamúta Dáyarogue) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-4): Yéé Párame.

/152 cont./

MIRIAPURA BAJUARI MAJSA

The sibs that belong to this phratry are located on the rivers Isana, Querarí, Surubí, and Uainá. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Maníva. It consists of the following sibs:

/153/

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|
| (1) <u>Bejkári</u> | (C) | (2) <u>Mijpiáque</u> | (C) |
| (3) <u>Mijpiá Diára</u> | (C) | (4) <u>Majkápiro Púra</u> | (C) |
| (5) <u>Borekearo</u> | (C) | (6) <u>Petároague</u> | (C) |
| (7) <u>Majároague</u> | (C) | | |

Kinship Terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsa phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-6), the first one calls the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one calls the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijjá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (6-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one and the subsequent ones, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one and the subsequent ones, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 6 denominate 7 (Majároague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Majároague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-6): Yéé Párame.

Examples of kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Miriápura Bajuári Majsa phratry.

- (1) The son of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mé.
- (2) Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Meké.
- (3) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Petároague: Nijjá, since Bejkári denominates Petároague: Nijjá.
- (4) The son of Petároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Mamí, since Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mamí.
- (5) Bejkári denominates the daughter of Petároague: Majkó.
Petároague calls the daughter of Bejkári: Majkó.
- (6) The daughter of Bejkári denominates Petároague: Mengué.
The daughter of Petároague denominates Bejkári: Mengué.

*

601

614

/153 cont./

- (7) The sons of Bejkári denominate the sister of Petároague: Uaméu. The sons of Petároague denominate the sister of Bejkári: Uaméu.
- (8) The son of Majároague denominates Bejkári: Meké, since the father of Bejkári and the son of Majároague are siblings.
- (9) Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Mé.
- (10) The son of Bejkári denominates the son of Majároague: Pajké-Ró.
- (11) The son of Majároague denominates the son of Bejkári: Yéé Párame.

/154/

EMEKO BAJUARI MAJSA

The component sibs of this phratry are located on the Vaupés River between the hamlet of Urania and a little above the place where the Yí River empties into the Vaupés River, and on all of the Cudularí River. They speak the idiom traditionally known by the name of Cubeo. It consists of the following sibs:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
| (1) <u>Utiwague</u> | (C) | (2) <u>Socóro Páramero</u> | (C) |
| (3) <u>Biá Déroague</u> | (C) | (4) <u>Purí Máriroague</u> | (C) |
| (5) <u>Aúwuewague</u> | (C) | (6) <u>Uejsári Téroague</u> | (C) |

*

601

614

Kinship terms used among the component sibs of the Emeko Bajuári Majsá phratry.

In numerical order and descending chronologically (1-5), the first one denominates the second one and the subsequent ones, the second one denominates the third one and the subsequent ones, etc., Nijá.

In numerical order and ascending chronologically (5-1), the last one denominates the penultimate one, the penultimate one denominates the antepenultimate one, etc., Mamí.

The sibs numbered from 1 to 5 denominate 6 (Uejsári Téroague): Pajké-Ró.

Number 7 (Uejsári Téroague) denominates the rest of the sibs (1-5): Yéé Párame.

342 /102 cont./

[824] There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

592

342

[162]

The size of the maloca varies according to the number of its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

• 361

596

The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements /Spanish caseros/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291

[287]

Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291

177

797

The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

621

Tucano SQ19

• 361

342

[Information on the maloca, the communal shelter, has been filed in category 592.]

/13 cont./

136 Briss.), the capivara /capybara/ (hidrochoerus /Hydrochoerus /capybara, Exl.) and macacos of various species.

The birds present the same scarcity in quantity, but a greater richness in variety and plumage. Among those appreciated as foods by the forest dwellers, we remember the tucanos /toucans/ (ramphastus /Ramphastos/), jacamim /trumpeter/ (psophideos /Psophidae/), mutum /curassow/ (crax nigra, alector, etc.), jacu (penélopes), several pombos /doves/ (columba). Procured for their plumage are the garças /herons/ (heródias egretta) and other varieties of ardeidae, tucanos, and the extraordinary variety of araras and other psittacidae /Psittacidae/.

The entomological contribution is more varied and richer, some varieties of insects also serving as food for the inhabitants of the region.

241 In this habitat in which the area to be cultivated is acquired by arduously hewing down the secular forest and which is only used regularly for three or four years, one can make only a small planting. We must remember that originally the Uaupés man had at his disposal only the stone ax, and that on the Uaupés the verões, that is, the periods of dry weather that permit "the burning of the clearing," are neither frequent nor extended.

• 361
[262] The agriculture, on one side, as well as the fishing and the hunting, do not permit large human assemblages. As a consequence, we are going to find the population always dispersed in small groups located on the banks of the rivers and streams (igarapés), which, besides furnishing, with the fish, a favorite food, also serve them as a means of communication.

The demands of the natives being minimal, the conditions that determine their habitat are reduced to three: 1st, water, to drink, to bathe, and to give them fish; 2nd, the forest, which furnishes fruit and the wood for the fire; 3rd, land sufficiently fertile for the cultivation of mandioca, their principal vegetable food. Not always, but rather very rarely in the present situation can /14/ the first condition be reconciled with the third, according to native criteria. For this reason, they ordinarily plant the clearing, "wexsé," some kilometers from their house. Compensating for the inconvenience of the distance, there is presented to

[241]

/14 cont./

• 361

the intelligence of the forest dweller the advantage of the safety of his property, which thus more easily escapes being seen and covetousness. The natural consequence is that the density of the population in each group is independent of the fertility of the adjacent lands.

/15/

Chapter II

The Tribes of the Uaupés in the Historical Period

1 -- Data on the History of the Río Negro and the Uaupés River

174

The important problem of the origin of the forest dwellers of Brazil, as of America, still awaits solution. Since anthropo-ethnological science does not recognize them as autochthons, where did they come from? From only one or from various origins? In what era? By which path? With what means? In one or several successive migrations? Under what direction? How did they spread?

[121]

The present work does not aim at answering these or other connected questions. Nevertheless a rapid survey of this cultural group of the Uaupés within the historical period for it, that is, since the discovery of Brazil, is advisable.

175

The voyage of discovery of the "Río das Amazonas," as it became known at the time, was made by Francisco Orellana in 1541, the friar of the Order of Saint Dominic, Gaspar de Carvajal, serving as chronicler. From his account there appears with respect to the Río Negro only that on Saturday, the eve of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, June 3, 1542, "We saw the mouth of another large river, on the left bank, which entered the one that we were navigating and of water black as ink and therefore we gave it the name of Río Negro" ("Descobrimentos do rio das Amazonas / Discoveries of the Amazon River/, " 50).

/24/

*101
• 361

4. Places on the Rio Negro in the Eighteenth Century

with indication of the tribes

(According to the data of Pe. Noronha, Xavier Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira and Braum) /In the table below, margem esquerda (M.E.) = left bank, margem direita (M.D.) = right bank, leguas da foz = leagues from the mouth, almas = souls, antigo = anciently./

Tribes

A -- Aruaque	J -- Juri (pixuna)	P -- Passé
Ar -- Arunje, Ayrini, Ariini	Jp -- Japiuna	Pv -- Paviana
B -- Bare	Jr -- Jaruna	Px -- Pexuma
Ba -- Baiana	M -- Manão	T -- Tacu
Bv -- Baniva	Ju -- Juma	Pt -- Puiteno
C -- Cubeuana	Ma -- Macu	Te -- Termairari
Ca -- Carajá	Mq -- Maquiritare	Tu -- Turimari
Cc -- Cocuana	Mr -- Marapitena	U -- Uaupé
Ce -- Coeuana	Md -- Mendo	Ua -- Uaranacuacena
D -- Duanaís	Mp -- Mepuri	Ue -- Uerequena
		Uy -- Uauuana, Yayaana
		X -- Xamã
		Xp -- Xapüena

Mauais - margem esquerda (M.E.)	2 leguas da foz	B. Bv. P	
Ayrao - margem direita (M.D.)	30 "	" " " A. M. T	(860 almas)
Moura - M.D.	42 "	" " " M. Ca. Ce. Ju. B. Jp. Jr.	
Caruciro - M.D.	50 "	" " " M. Pr. Ua	
		(ext.)	(1786 ")
Poiarés - M.D.	67 "	" " " M. B. P	
Barcelos - M.D.	74 "	" " " M. B. Ba. Ue. P	
Moreira - M.D.	90 "	" " " M. B.	(164 almas)
Thomas - M.D.	107 "	" " " M. B. Uy. P	(524 ")
Lomalônga - M.D.	111 "	" " " M. B. Bv	(196 ")
S. Isabel - M.E.	127 "	" " " U. J. P. Ue. Bv. Ma.	
		Mq	(99 almas)
S. Ant. do Castanheiro Novo - M.E.	140 "	" " " B. J. Px. P. X.	(108 ")
Maçarabi - M.E.	154 "	" " " J. P	(175 ")
S. José - M.E.	162 "	" " " B	(90 ")
S. Pedro (antigo Simapé) - M.D.	168 "	" " " J. P	(95 ")
S. João Nepom. do Camundé - M.E.	171 "	" " " P. Px. J	(94 ")
S. Bernardo de Camandus - M.E.	175 "	" " " J. P. X.	(109 ")
N. S. de Nazaré de Curiana - M.E.	178 "	" " " P. Mp. Ar. Br	
		Ma	(108 ")
S. Gabriel da Cachoeira - M.E.	180 "	" " " B. Mp. J	(180 ")
S. Joaquim do Coene - M.D.	185 "	" " " U. Cc	(257 ")
Santa Ana - M.E.	198 "	" " " Bv	(198 ")
S. Felipe - M.D.	202 "	" " " Bv	(83 ")
S. Miguel (foz do Içana) - M.E.	205 "	" " " Bv	
N. Senhora da Guia - M.D.	206 "	" " " B. Bv.	(87 ")
S. Marcelino (foz do Xié) - M.D.	222 "	" " " Bv. Ue. Md	(65 ")
S. José dos Marabitanas - M.D.	231 "	" " " Mr. Ar. B. Bv	(165 ")

/57/

Chapter III

Malocas (Baxsacé-wi'serí) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nāxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

• 361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will [103] have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there were only malocas (1).

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI. 1).

178
361
592
[797] reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/91 cont. /

*101

1) EMOÁ-MASÁ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emóá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/

[144] Ide-masá of the maloca Bühō-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat wavy hair.

[171]
[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masá, Hanëra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roëra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named the Emóá and the Roëra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be included among the Emóá, these would be, in all, several hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guarfua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Jurí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emóá can not be identified with these Guariba-Tapuya, but rather with the Omóá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirá, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masá tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/171/

Chapter VI

Material Culture

121

*[192]

1. Dwelling, w'l'l.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

361

178

The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

342

[178]

*[192]

The system of covering, peókaro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

*[192]

The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region; they generally use the caraná (mauritia flexuosa, Wall.), pũ'sẽ, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

/174 cont./

family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

177

342

*[192]

3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaró) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

[197]

As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

• 361

5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/174 cont./

361

And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351

In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241

They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of capsicum), pupunha, assai, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucuma calimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (saccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabacum), and coca (erythroxylon coca).

249

415

*[192]

Often one sees a small press, ã'rã arãrã (Uaupés a'nã anyãñ), for sugar cane (7).

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquilé, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

1

The Cubeo Community

- 361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs¹ that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of Yuruparí and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that the first people displaced groups that were already living along these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have
- [614] 173
614 361
173 361
[174] 361
614

¹ Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cúbeo at under 2,500. This is a crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons per sib on the Cuduiari, the only river that I had occasion to explore along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the past. On the Cuduiari there were 29 main residence sites,² each averaging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population density for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are separated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza epidemic swept the region in 1917-18 and took a heavy toll of lives, the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comisaria del Vaupés* (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an estimate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were severely handicapped.

The term "Cúbeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word *kebéwa*, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most Indians were not aware that they were called "Cúbeos," while those who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speaking, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of discussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the Indians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamiwa* (first people). They also offered *puñiwa* (people), and then referred to other tribes as *apépuñiwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that any Cúbeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

² There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

614 formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

[613] A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

614
594
121 What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

THE COMMUNITY

621
182 The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

● 361 From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiari the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

[615]

along the same river belong to a common phratry and share, therefore, rules of exogamy, origin traditions, and mutual obligations of hospitality.

Close up, a community is revealed as a clearing of a dozen acres or so hacked out in a crude semicircle from the banks of the river. Since the river may rise some ten feet or more in the rainy season the clearing is always on the high bank and will necessarily follow in its shape the contours of high land. The maloca stands toward the river. A house is not aligned according to absolute directions, but always with reference to the river, which the Cubeo, in contrast to other tribes in the region, insist upon keeping in view. No house will have its front door facing the forest, though its rear door may. In some cases the rear door abuts almost on the very edge of the manioc cultivations.

A residence site is commonly called *tard*, a term that appears in the naming chants and that I have rendered in free translation as "soil." A related term that is also used is *taibo* (ā made place), a clearing. These two terms refer then to that part of the territory that has been prepared both for cultivation and for housing. A more inclusive territorial term is *makano*, that embraces the uncleared forest and can also mean "forest." Still another term for a residence site is *hobōnu*, based on *hobā*, a cleared place for planting. More commonly, however, the manioc cultivations are called *hawabā* (food place).

Within the requirements of contour and with leeway granted to accommodate individual community preferences, clearings tend to conform to a common plan. The maloca is the hub from which the outer edges of the clearing are plotted with approximately equal radii - footpaths - leading to the bitter manioc cultivations. The manioc cultivations form a broad outer belt of the clearing that, in poorer communities, begins very close to the rear or rear side wall of the house and that in prosperous and more prideful communities is at some distance. In the latter communities, the zone of plantings begins far enough away so that the women at work in their manioc gardens are out of sight and out of sound, only the plumes of white smoke from each garden signaling silently that a woman is at work there. No matter how confined the total clearing, the house rests within an inner clearing of secondary cultivations and, ultimately, within a totally cleared space or plaza. The maloca is more or less at the center of these three concentric zones. The river (*hya*) itself is a fourth zone.

These four zones have their social counterparts in that they may be identified as male and female, although, it should be said, the Cubeo do not themselves make this identification.

CUBE O

● 361 Cubeos do not themselves make this identification. The outermost
462 zone, that of manioc cultivation, is largely a female province. Men
244 make the clearing, but women work in the gardens. A woman's garden
[33] is virtually her private domain. A man enters it upon a woman's invitation. A husband goes there to help with some heavy task or for casual sexual intercourse. There is extra spice to marital coitus in the garden because it is the traditional place for adultery and so the Indians associate it with licentious passion. Men do not ordinarily
123 wander over to the manioc gardens. When I wanted to see the women
361 at work in their gardens I was not free to go without an escort, who
831 was usually the husband himself or sometimes the headman. In the
244 latter case, the headman courteously informed the husband, and everyone else if the husband was away. Frequent visiting was definitely discouraged. Women could not help but attribute sexual significance to a man's visit and would deride the notion that a man was interested in watching them farm.

244 This outer zone, then, has a decided sexual connotation that is both erotic and social. Women give birth in their manioc gardens
361 and during male cult ceremonies they may take shelter in the gardens.
831 Nursing babies are brought to the manioc gardens regardless of sex,
[844] but from walking age on, no boy will think of playing in the vicinity
[854] of the gardens. Manioc is a strictly secular crop for which there are no rites, despite its overwhelming nutritive importance and the usual hazards of cultivation.

361 From the sexual point of view, the zone of secondary cultivation
244 is a mixed one. Secondary crops include sugar cane, tobacco, *mihí*
462 (kaapi, a vision-inducing narcotic), coca, calabash, gourd, squash,
[274] melons, yams, sweet potatoes, and sometimes maize. There are also
[245] cultivated trees—orange, lemon, pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa*),
pineapple, plantain, and banana. Men exclusively cultivate tobacco, *mihí*, and coca, women exclusively cultivate bitter manioc; all other
[77] plantings are mixed. If a plant, onions, for example, is taken from the whites and the Indians have seen a white man grow it, they then regard it as a proper male cultivation. Maize is an old crop that belongs to women but not all communities grow it. Among the *Bahukwa* and its neighboring suburbs no maize was planted.³ This

³ When Koch Grünberg was on the Cadulari, in 1923, he observed that the upper communities grew only maize and no manioc. For bitter manioc, he said, they came to the lower Cadulari communities (1923, II, 8a). During my survey of the river I found no community without manioc. On the other hand, maize, which had already begun to disappear in the time of Koch Grünberg, had become quite scarce and no longer entered into the regular diet. On certain ceremonial occasions it was made up into tortillas. Mainly it was used in native beer and as

CUBEO

THE CUBEO COMMUNITY

31

secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihl*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this gaffe. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahúkuwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

621

512

in or around the maloca, loafing, jesting, or in jovial groups working at small manufactures such as basketry. It is the wives and their daughters who are dispersed, each in her separate garden, and who then return in the heat of the day, tired and subdued, to a house that is gay with the laughter and chatter of the men.

712

[361]

In the recent past, no more than a generation or two ago, the inner zone of the community was separated, indeed virtually isolated, from the manioc gardens by a ten-foot-deep defensive moat set with sharpened stakes. Tree trunks crossed its steep walls to serve as narrow foot walks for the sure-footed women. At night, or in anticipation of an enemy, the footbridges were withdrawn. The house and the plaza then were an inner citadel. The moat protected against surprise attack. When enemies were sighted or their presence announced by the angry growling of the dogs they were met as far from the residence as possible, and the moat served as a defensive line to cover retreat. The strategy then was to lure the attackers to fall into the moat while the defenders slipped across their secretly placed bridges. If the people felt themselves to be overwhelmed they scattered to safety through the dense forest, abandoning house and possessions. (Houses still have an escape port at a side wall facing the forest.) But if they were confident they left the women and children behind in the house with a small guard. I had the privilege of this guard duty on one occasion. I was instructed to cover the escape of the women and children if need be. Fortunately, there was no need.

712

725

(123)

361

504

The canoe landing is little more than a level stretch of beach where a canoe can be pulled up out of the water. It is also the site for bathing, for drawing water, for washing manioc roots. It is a port. One rarely comes upon a community by land. Visitors pause at the landing to wash, adjust their apparel, and freshen up face and body paint before beginning the climb up the path leading to the plaza. Like the plaza, the orderliness of the canoe landing denotes the state of morale of a community. Some householders have carved steps into the clay bank, lined them with split logs, and provided a rail. Guests are never received at the landing. Courtesy requires that guests be allowed the privacy of arrival, and the hosts discreetly retire to the plaza to await them. There are ceremonies in which the arrival of spirit beings is an important feature. On such occasions the men who are to enact these beings use the canoe landing for donning masks and for other preparations. On these occasions, too, the canoe landing is a sanctuary from which all unauthorized persons discreetly retire.

504

574

[417]

[576]

504

796

[778]

504

833

Before dawn the canoe landing is the favored place for marital

coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiari these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiari proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

504
[833]
[515]
[842]
[775]

[515]
[534]
[827]

504
512

[574]
[805]

361 ●

361
554

(114)

34 THE CUBEO

- 361 **Cafio dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-**
 554 **tain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or en-**
 (157) **couraged to visit a cafio dwelling house. I was always told that they**
 (123) **did not care to have visitors.**

342 When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the
 361 new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one require-
 622 ment of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with
 768 him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines
 of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new ma-
 loca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change
 at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the
 victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a
 fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations.
 361 At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to
 244 ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is
 768 moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the
 old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transi-
 tional period when the community is actually working both clearings.
 The Cubeco regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until
 they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they
 will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old
chagra are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

- 361 The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to
 (31) circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some
 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again.
 Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the
 forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

(173) The traditions of the Cubeco indicate that they were originally
 dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later
 moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiari and the
 Querari. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this
 connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or
 361 along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs
 614 occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely
 554 associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks
 deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong oc-
 cupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or
 by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become
 dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites
 and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Gia-
 cone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano' (refer-
 361 ring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only
 554 along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

THE CUBE0 COMMUNITY

35

regarded themselves as the superior of all other Indians who were driven back into the headwaters (Giacone, 1949, p. 5).

Thus the movement of Colombian settlers down the Vaupés River had a markedly disturbing effect upon the Cubeo by dispossessing them from their ancestral river. The first-ranking sibs, however, did not leave their sites at the rapids from whence their ancestors are supposed to have emerged. But in staying on they succumbed most rapidly to the European influence.

Despite their strong orientation toward the river the Cubeo also make use of footpaths. Near the mouth of the Cuduiari, for example, a trail leads to the Querari. There are, in fact, many paths in the region that provide short cuts between rivers. Raiding parties come on foot to avoid detection, and paths are used for short journeys. The Cubeo Indian, however, is not, by preference, a walker.

SIZE

The size of a clearing is variable, to a degree, depending upon the number of households and their ambitions for entertaining and for trade with the whites. A headman's household, which is always the most ambitious and is, therefore, the most productive, requires approximately two acres of manioc land for an annual yield of 300 baskets (30-60 pounds per basket). Most households among the *Bahúkiwa* averaged only 200 baskets of manioc a year and utilized accordingly a manioc garden of one acre. A sib center community of 12 households requires more than 12 acres for manioc cultivation as well as several acres more for the plaza and subsidiary cultivations, if the full burden of entertaining is left to one or two households, as is often the case. Satellite communities are often as small as three households and their clearings are proportionately smaller.

The Cubeo community is always small, rarely reaching a population beyond 16 households, a household in every case being limited to a nuclear family. The size of community seems to be a result of a complex series of adaptations of many elements to one another — architectural, ecological, sociological, and psychological. The architectural factor is that a community must be dominated by a single maloca. The largest maloca in the Northwest Amazon region is a 16-household dwelling with eight compartments ranged along each long wall. The smaller dwellings of the Independents can augment the size of a community. The fact is, however, that an Independent household has usually been formed for personal reasons, such as a quarrel with the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding.

361
554361
554
648
177

487

[721]
[481]621
311
453
244
[622]621
592
[162]

[342]

[578]

621
592

the headman, rather than for reasons of crowding. The Cubeo believe that one roof unites a community while several roofs divide it.

621
311

Size of maloca is adapted in some measure to cultivable terrain. We have already noted that seasonal flooding and the requirement of good river frontage limit the availability of land for relatively permanent cultivation. But these are highly variable factors. Along the Vaupés, a deep river basin that can carry a great volume of water, there are vast stretches of dry land that have become the sites of civilized population centers. There is no doubt that from terrain alone the Vaupés could have supported far greater Indian populations than it did at the time of first contact. Along the Vaupés the limiting factor seems to have been social. On the Cuduiari, on the other hand, land contours are such as to divide frontages into much smaller segments. On this smaller stream, terrain has been a more significant factor in limiting community size. But even on the Cuduiari, land utilization is subject to strong social considerations. One consideration is that sibs must retain their traditional boundaries. This means that with slash-burn horticulture the sib territory must provide, as a minimum, a three-step cycle in which a community returns to its original land after 10 to 15 years. The well-situated tract must then be at least three times the average land requirement at any given time.

[614]

361
244

There is still another consideration, and that is the distance of manioc gardens from the residence. When they prepare a clearing, the Cubeo bear in mind the distance a woman will have to trudge with her burdens of manioc, a baby, and firewood. That is why the gardens are laid out along a semicircle. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop. It needs reasonably dry soil and it makes heavy demands upon the time and energy of a woman for its cultivation, transportation, and preparation. Whatever can be saved from travel time is an advantage.

621
182

The thesis of ecological adaptation, however, can be argued most successfully in the abstract. If one notes the actual events in the life of a community, then the processes of community growth and community fission appear in quite a different light. The balance of forces of fusion and of fission that hold community size to its stable limits in harmony with the natural environment are not entirely economic. They often include personal factors. To state this more precisely: the economic factor affects fusion strongly but has less direct bearing upon fission. Satellites, for example, are urged to return to the fold, guests are urged to stay on, and daughters are invited to take up residence in their own sib if there is ample land. Splitting, on the other hand, occurs because of personal quarrels and rarely because of a feeling of land shortage.

[578]

44 THE CUBEO

621 the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a
614 girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother.
582 If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly
571 way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has
no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance
of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle,
since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of
a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

361 The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some ex-
614 ceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis
554 of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a
parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most
important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs,
the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish
being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals
are hunted along the river banks.

[823] The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward
[146] the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers
[224] are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The
361 river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of
823 dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is liter-
ally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source
[103] of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It
contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological refer-
ences, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of
sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear
361 economic value of the river — hunting as well as fishing — the Cubeo
614 have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be
615 people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic
grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the
phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept
membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has
interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüwd* sib is
an intruder on the Cuduiarl River and belongs more properly on the
Querarl. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is
an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiarl
phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahikiwa*. But the *Hürüwd* are
drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what
is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

THE CUBEO COMMUNITY

45 361

of the pull of propinquity. The Cubeo welcome and respect neighborliness.

614
615

The river has its natural boundaries. These are the segments of river demarcated by rapids and by the tributaries or creeks. A boundary is from one such feature to the next, from a *cachoeira* (rapids) to a creek, from a creek to a creek, but rarely from *cachoeira* to *cachoeira*. A boundary defines only sib territory. There is no phratric territory as such. If there is phratric and tribal territoriality it is because each of the sibs undertakes to defend the principle in terms of its own interests. A sib may adopt a stranger and in this way incorporate it into the phratry. It needs no permission to do this. On the other hand, a sib may appeal to phratry mates for help in warding off by force unwanted intruders. Boundaries do not close a river to traffic. The river is always an open highway for travel, and travelers may fish and hunt along it freely. They may not put up fixed installations such as weirs or show other signs of residence such as fishing a particular spot with regularity without permission. Men regularly fish only within the sib limits. The discussion of boundaries, it should be explained, does not flow naturally from the Cubeo. It is drawn out by the ethnographer. The Cubeo are not jealous of boundaries and they rarely have issues over them, but they do know them. Occasionally someone violates the common law of courtesy of the use of fish weirs and keeps the barrier closed beyond the allowable period. The Cubeo cannot and do not attribute this unmannerly act to gluttony. Gluttony is an incomprehensible notion to them. They attribute it either kindly to forgetfulness, in which case there is no issue, or to unfriendliness, in which case there is a quarrel and an effort is made to tear down the barrier. On the forest side there are no boundaries at all except for the clearing itself. It is not land but river frontage that is valued.

131
614
423
615131
614
423131
423
578

CANOEING

So much of a man's time is spent in a canoe that no description of native life would be complete that did not relate the Indian to the river as a canoe man or that failed to bring out the motor rhythms of canoeing. Motor rhythms are patterned, the rhythm of paddling and the characteristic rhythms of the dance showing particularly striking parallels.

Paddling follows a definite though irregular rhythm. The prowsman on a long trip is keeper of the stroke. Paddling is noisy. On the downstroke the stem of the paddle just above the blade is struck

501
516

501
504

48 THE CUBEO

recover it. Away from home, a canoe is moored completely out of the water.

361
103
614

COMMUNITIES ON THE CUDUIARI (upstream from mouth)

PLACE NAME	SB	PLACE NAME	SB
1. Kakómba	<i>Hehénewa</i>	16. Xiábewa	<i>Pedikwa</i>
2. Kuridi kéndami	<i>Hehénewa</i>	17. Kuraria	<i>Kendnihsaurú</i>
3. Tcípakoriba *	<i>Hehénewa</i>	18. Abúhakú	<i>Kendnihsaurú</i>
4. Okóhambú	<i>Bahúkiwa</i>	19. Xwéveho	<i>Hürüwd</i>
5. Vekókú	<i>Bahúkiwa</i>	20. Bedébo	<i>Hürüwd</i>
6. Ewáhubo	<i>Bahúkúdjaurú</i>	21. Kobéhowa	<i>Pyéndo-Hehénewa</i>
7. Hurédo	<i>Bahúkúdjaurú</i>	22. Avyákoriba	<i>Hürüwd</i>
8. Nyáparatainto	<i>Bahúkúdjaurú</i>	23. Kwitóro	<i>Wadjá-Hürüwd</i>
9. Yavibi	<i>Bahúkúdjaurú</i>	24. Bedébú	<i>Hürüwd</i>
10. Kiráda	<i>Bahúkiwa</i>	25. Toróhambú	<i>Hürüwd</i>
11. Ubo	<i>Pedikwa</i>	26. Hokóbú	<i>Kendnihsaurú</i>
12. Mákavekú	<i>Bahúkiwa</i>	27. Horáhararia	<i>Hürüwd</i>
13. Makatóta	<i>Bahúkiwa</i>	28. Hudjibú	<i>Bahúkiwa</i>
14. Toidlibú	<i>Pedikwa</i>	29. Mátakwa	<i>Pyéndo-Hehénewa</i>
15. Monékenpaunwa	<i>Pedikwa</i>		

* A small Kordwa settlement is at *Urúpera* between 3 and 4. It is, however, only a fraction of a *Querari* River sb and not a full community.

2

Economic Life

ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200-300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiari are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings. (823)

The Cuduiari is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. (361) The Cuduiari is an intimate river — along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire (554)

- 133 ⁵⁰ THE CUBEO
 (484) The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
 (502) river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
 The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky,
 and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water
 and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks,
 in places resembling a sea.
- 361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihlbo* (October-December, February
 132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
 (317) many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
 (417) the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people
 have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height
 of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the
 river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an
 island, the low-lying country a vast lake.
- 221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
 132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always
 on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter
 routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons
 of high water (*ildkoro*) (May-August and January) bring relative
 scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and
 game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water,
 fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now
 abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant,
 are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in
 November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers
 have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihlbo* as summer and
ilikoro as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaino* (falling river)
 and as *edduniya* (growing river).
- 221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
 261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
 132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December,
 and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During
 these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams,
 game — tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and para — crowds the river
 banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons
 for ceremony — initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer
 dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking
 parties.¹ The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase
 and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
 824 precisely geared to a season.
- 222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about
 (805) ¹ The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc
 gardens are extended or new clearings started.

423 The phratry, with its extension of kinship along a large section of
 615 river, provides for amicable settlements of boundary disputes; these
 [578] arise, however, over river use only, never over cultivated land. There
 is no thought more repugnant to the Cubeo than that one should
 cultivate land that has been cleared by another. When a woman dies
 [768] her manioc plots are left to be grown over after the mature tubers
 have been harvested, so strongly do the people feel about the intimate
 relationship between land and its cultivator.

241 Within the sib territory, male household heads arrive at individual
 614 or, more often, joint decisions as to the total clearing and the alloca-
 • 361 tion of household manioc plots within it. An individual may select
 any part of the sib territory for a clearing, although by tradition and
 for reasons of convenience the plots are contiguous and the clearing
 241 is one large space. Preparation of a clearing is most often a collective
 614 effort supervised by the headman. Even as they begin to prepare a
 361 clearing the household heads discuss their individual allocations and
 622 stake out a location. There are two ways in which the cultivation of
 476 a clearing can be organized. The preferred way is for the headman
 to organize a collective work party, including all household heads.
 If this cannot be arranged, either because of lack of agreement about
 a joint move or because some male household heads are away in the
 rubber forests or in some other work, the move is made gradually.
 Then the headman and his close associates are the first to move to
 the new location. They start the clearing by preparing their own plots,
 establishing a bridgehead, so to speak, for the rest of the sib. This
 method of moving over to a new location indicates how little anxiety
 the Cubeo feel about getting a choice location. When the later ar-
 rivals come they can count upon help from the headman and the
 earlier settlers in preparing their own clearings. The general clearing
 begins initially as a narrow semicircular band so that each plot is
 about the same distance from the house. The band is then widened
 by each household in accordance with its needs for new land. An-
 nually, during the short dry seasons, a household head and the other
 adult males cut down and burn over the timber, outward from the
chagra, to extend the cultivations. Manioc can be harvested at from
 six to 24 months. A providential family allocates one section of a field
 for a two-year harvest.

244 A manioc cultivation is always spoken of as belonging to a woman.
 423 A woman says, "This *chagra* was made for me by my husband" (or
 "my son" or "my brother"). She is the sole administrator of the plan-
 tation and may assign sections of it to her daughters, to her daugh-
 ters-in-law, and to guests who have come for an extended visit. The

There is no formal provision in Cubeo economy whereby food-stuffs, utensils, or productive equipment can accumulate disproportionately in any one household or in any one community. There are well-to-do communities and there are poor communities, the differences between them being due, however, almost entirely to their own state of morale, but also to differences in location. Location, as has been noted, follows the formal but functionally inconsequential ranking of the sibs. Upriver sibs may have some disadvantages in fishing during the dry season. On the other hand, they have advantages in hunting. Tapir, for example, are more numerous upriver on the Cuduiari than downriver. Moreover, occupants of a river do have the privilege of fishing anywhere along its length. In this respect, the most important point to emphasize is that the Cubeo acknowledge the right of all who are not enemies to the available food resources. The economic domain of the tribes in the Vaupés area is, in fact, an extensive one. The sib territory is of course the economic center, but there is also available a vast periphery of supplementary economic zones. On the score of friendship and of bilateral kinship men acquire hunting and fishing rights in many different rivers. Thus, in his travels Koch-Grünberg met sections of tribes, including Cubeo, very far from their home base. The hospitality of the house is proverbial in this region and such domestic hospitality has its counterpart in a hospitality of the river or of the forest. It is the privilege of families to travel about, visiting community after community where they have either a kinship claim or a friendship claim. Everywhere the men are welcome as fishermen and as hunters and the women are assigned gardens. So long as visitors join the economic round they are welcome. It is even more accurate to say that they are eagerly welcomed, for nothing contributes more to the state of contentment of a community than the desire of others to join it. The issue, of course, is economic hospitality and not freedom of trespass. The right of trespass is the right to enter and to use an economic domain without taking formal cognizance of those who have a stronger or more traditional right to it. Such rights among the Cubeo are nonexistent. The rights of hospitality, on the other hand, obligate those who have entered a non-traditional economic domain to engage in the traditional forms of reciprocity that bind sibmen and phratry mates. When hunters kill a tapir in the domain of another sib they are not obligated to "pay tribute" but they do have a sense of obligation to give some of the meat to the host sib as part of a pattern of food reciprocity.

Underlying this relatively unrestricted access to food resources are two cultural conditions. One is that food for the Cubeo symbol-

433

184

361

361

614

432

614

433

574

[42]

[43]

433

261

571

614 time and then have drawn to them new sibs from peoples speak-
 619 ing the same as well as other languages. The Cubeo tribe, as we have
 174 already observed, seems to be an aggregate of Tucanoan-speaking,
 Arawakan-speaking, and "Macuan"-speaking peoples. A particular
 sib that belongs to one tribe today may incorporate itself into an-
 other tomorrow.

614 It is possible that sib formation in the Northwest Amazon region
 174 has been an outgrowth of this process of repeated assimilation of new
 groups. The reasoning behind this assumption is as follows: patrilocal
 extended families need only assert and maintain a tradition of com-
 mon origin and then live up to the requirement of maintaining a
 firm group identity, within a confederation, to make the transition
 to sib or clan. The suggestion is, however, that sib formation cannot
 be accounted for merely by the growth of extended patrilocal fam-
 ilies or by the enlargement of lineages — because of the ease of fission
 — but rather as a response to quite another process, that of con-
 federation in which the identity of the joining segments is retained.
 A confederation of descent groups heightens the probability that
 all will defend their autonomy by asserting their identity of com-
 mon descent.

THE SIB AND PHRATRIC ORGANIZATION

614 The sibs are listed in approximate order of rank. This rank order
 615 should be considered as provisional, since it represents mainly the
 554 Bahúkiwa view of sib rank.

361

PHRATRY I

Orobawa The leading sib: they still live at Uaracapuri on the Vaupés, the
 site of a rapids from which they first emerged. Their first male ancestor
 was called *Orobakü*. According to one version of the origin tale, he was the
 head of the anaconda from which all Cubeo are descended. He then
 named all the sibs of the phratry that followed after him. Koch-Grünberg
 identified them as *Olaba-Hehénewa* and hence as a branch of the
Hehénewa. Nimpendajú listed them as *Orobawa*. According to my in-
 formation, they are most closely linked with the *Hudni-Hehénewa* and
 with the *Aúnnewa*, the easternmost or most downstream community of
 the Cubeo.

[114]

Aúnwawü The second sib, occupying the next site upstream on the
 Vaupés at Urania. Their first ancestor was *Aúnkü*. Some informants said
 that *Aúnkü* was the last to emerge but was granted second place by
Orobakü. In any case, their position on the Vaupés gives them second
 rank. They are regarded as very closely linked with the *Hehénewa*. In
 1910 they were reduced to four households. Some had taken up residence

CUBEO

THE SIB 101

at Pindaiva on the Cuduiari. Nimuendajú's reference to the *Ambo-mamára* on the Cuduiari, whom he did not visit personally, may refer to this Cuduiari group. The Vaupés group is not mentioned in either his or Koch-Grünberg's lists.

Hehénwa In the present social structure, the *Hehénwa* represent the largest grouping of sibs of this phratry. From the traditions, it is not unlikely that the *Hehénwa* were once an independent tribe which joined with other groups to form the present phratry. When Koch-Grünberg visited them in 1903 he came to regard them as the "true" Cubeo. They have, even today, the highest prestige on the Cuduiari and are, to my knowledge, the only group on this river authorized to wear the quartz cylinder pendant. According to native traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River and were not Cubeo but Tucano, known as the *Xwéve-Hehénwa* or *Toucan-Hehénwa*. Their origin site on the Papurí is known as *Wahúda impemáni*. They were adopted into the phratry by the *Orobawa*. The story goes that the *Hehénwa* heard the *Orobawa* sounding the ancestor trumpets. They were attracted by the music — a sign of kinship — and when they came close they were adopted. Another version of the tradition emphasizes the close kinship of the *Hehénwa* with the other Cubeo sibs that emerged at Uaracapurí. This notes that the *Hehénwa* had the intention of emerging at the traditional site but were prevented from doing so by the hostility of others. Therefore they emerged at a distance and came to join their rightful kinsmen later. The *Hehénwa* now occupy sites all along the Cuduiari, but are concentrated at the lower Cuduiari and have a maloca on the Vaupés near Urandia close by the *Aúnbwawú*.

Byá-Hehénwa A subtribe of the *Hehénwa* who live at the mouth of the Cuduiari.

Wathariwa The *Bahúkiwa* regard them as distant members of the phratry, linking them rather more closely with the *Hehénwa* and the *Aúnbwawú*. They emerged at *Byátankwe*, a rapids on the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was called *Kwádebo*. They still live on the Vaupés at *Uacurúwa*, near *Tatú cachoeira*, and at *Umarí* just below. Koch-Grünberg located them above Uaracapurí falls, an upstream location more appropriate to their standing in the phratry.

Byá-Wathariwa A subtribe of the *Wathariwa* on the Vaupés.

Uréraríwa Perhaps a subtribe of the *Wathariwa* on a small stream of the Vaupés.

Bahúkiwa They list their emergence site as *Impemáni* on the Uaracapurí falls of the Vaupés. Their first Ancient was *Surú* and his sister was *Onpuéndoko*. They now consist of several subtribes occupying sites along the middle Cuduiari. Koch-Grünberg referred to them as *Bahúwa* and identified them as a Macú group (*Borúwa*) who wandered into the Cuduiari and became fully assimilated into the Cubeo, giving up their original language. *Bahúkiwa* traditions do, indeed, refer to an episode in the history of the sib when, having been virtually wiped out by an enemy raid, the last survivors married *Borúwa* women and so regenerated the sib. They deny any imputation, however, that they were ever low-caste *Borúwa*. The term Macú, which is the colloquial form of *Borúwa*, is commonly used in the region as an epithet.

614
615
554
361
[114]

[563]
[648]

[086]

614

615 102

THE CUBEO

554

361

is commonly used in the region as an epithet. The *Bahúkiwa* regard the *Orobawa* as their "head."

Bahúkúdjauwú A subtribe of the *Bahúkiwa* living just downstream from the *Bahúkiwa*, at a site commonly known as Yasitara. They had originally been one with the *Bahúkiwa*, but separated from them when they came up the Cuduiari and established a Satellite community up a small tributary, *Cucúra igarapes*.

Bahukuonónwa A subtribe of the *Bahúkúdjauwú* living near Yasitara on the Cuduiari.

(648) *Bahúkúbwauwú* A subtribe of the *Bahúkiwa* who are also known by the derogatory connotation of *Alánapwánwa* (Trail people) or *Alánawa*. According to the traditions, they were not Cubeo but a nomadic group, perhaps Macú, who had come to the Cuduiari overland, and whose emergence site was the *Querari miri*, a small tributary of the Cuduiari. (563) The *Bahúkiwa* adopted them and gave them personal names from their own sib genealogy. (551)

Pedikwa A subtribe of the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiari above the *Bahúkiwa* sites. According to the traditions, they came originally from the Papurí River with the *Hehénewa* and then settled at Itapinima or *Toldibú*, at which rapids they had a second emergence. They say their first Ancient was *Djurédo* of the *Hehénewa*. They did not like him and so they separated. They are also known as *Pedi-Hehénewa* because they emerged at *Pediwa*, a rock at Itapinima. Koch-Grünberg encountered them in the same site they now occupy. He says they were once enemies of the Cubeo. They now include five Satellite communities living upstream from them on the Cuduiari. They are also known as *Pidlokañio*.

Kenánikauwú A subtribe of the *Pedikwa* on the upper Cuduiari at *Piramiri* and at *Abúhakú*. They used to live at *Toldibú* but broke off and moved upstream. They do not appear on either Koch-Grünberg's or Nimuendajá's lists.

Kendámbwawa A subtribe of the *Pedikwa* living on the upper reaches of the Cuduiari.

Utiwaiwa Their emergence site was the *Yurupari cachoeira* that is upstream and at some distance along the Vaupés from *Uracapuri*. Having come from a different emergence site they were originally not in the phratry. They were drawn into the phratry by a pact of friendship with the *Bahúkiwa*. They now live at the mouth of the *Miriti igarapes* below the *Yurupari* falls on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg found them on the *Dyi igarapes*, an adjacent tributary of the Vaupés. They may be the same as the *Bucibowa* mentioned on the Vaupés by Nimuendajá. Their first ancestor was called *Utiwehwedi*. They are also included as a sib in one of the phratries of the Tucano tribe.

Baryáutiwaiwa A sib that emerged from *Yurupari cachoeira* on the Vaupés and is related to the *Utiwaiwa*. They are also known as *Baryáwa* and still live on the Vaupés.

(551) *Piaráwa* A sib that emerged at *Uracapuri rapids*, from a particular site called *Mumikú*. They live at *Miriti cachoeira* on the Vaupés and at the headwaters of the *Muchú*, a left-bank tributary of the Vaupés. They have some personal names in common with the *Hehénewa* but are most closely associated with the Kompainyewa.

CUBEO

THE SIB

103 614

615

554

361

[101]

[114]

associated with the *Kompainyewa*. Koch-Grünberg found them on the left bank of the Vaupés at a site called *Naibú*, where they were known in the *lingoa geral* as *Tokandira-Tapuyo*. He recorded their self-name as *Olá Piaráwa*. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari.

Pyéndo-Hehénewa A dissident sib of the *Hehénewa* group, maintaining no friendly relations with the other *Hehénewa*. Their close sib ties are with the *Pedikwa* and the *Kenánikauwü*. They occupy several sites above Patú at the headwaters of the Cuduiari, the main maloca being at *Querari miri* (*Enpanáwe*). They are also at *Abuhudjo* on the Yurupari miri and are known also as *Pyéndokauwü*.

Hwáni-Hehénewa A *Hehénewa* subsib on the Vaupés at *Paraná picuna* and at *Tukano cachoeira*. Their origin site is *Impenáni* of the *Uaracapuri cachoeira* and they are, therefore, closely related to the *Órobawa* and the *Aúnwewa*, in contrast to the *Hehénewa* proper, whose emergence was actually on the Papurý.

Aúnwewa A subsib of the *Aúnwawü* on the Vaupés at *Upyaria* just above Mitú. Nimuendajú incorrectly placed them on the Cuduiari and referred to them as *Aweéa*. They are also listed as a sib of a Tucano phratry. [114]

Kompainyewa Closely linked with the *Piaráwa*, they live at *Pindaiva* on the Vaupés just above *Urania* near the Yurupari falls. Their emergence site, however, is *Uaracapuri*.

Abáixo-Hehénewa A sib on the upper Querari mentioned by Koch-Grünberg, on which I have no information.

Ambumamára A sib on the Cuduiari mentioned by Nimuendajú, on which I have no information. From the name it would appear to be a subsib of the *Aúnwawü*.

Byari-Hehénewa An extinct subsib of the *Hehénewa*, who had lived on the Cuduiari as well as at *Uarúa Lake* on the upper Vaupés. They were also known as *Byaridoura*.

Papuli-Hehénewa A sib living on the Cuduiari during the time of Koch-Grünberg's visit at *Suriburoca* but now extinct. They came from the Papurý and were closely linked with the Tucano tribe of the Tiquié River.

Kenámbwawa A sib on the upper Cuduiari, presumably a subsib, along with the *Kenánikauwü*, of the *Pedikwa*.

Phratry I consists of two divisions that represent distinct origins. In the past these two divisions may have been intermarrying, because even now, although the entire phratry is exogamic, informants disagree as to the proprieties of intermarriage between the two divisions. The dominant division from the point of view of prestige and of numbers is known as *Yavimanawa* (Children of the jaguar) and includes the *Órobawa*, *Aúnwawü*, *Hehénewa*, *Wathariwa*, and their subsibs: *Byá-Hehénewa*, *Byá-Wathariwa*, *Pedikwa*, *Kenánikauwü*, *Utiwariwa*, *Pyéndo-Hehénewa*, *Hwáni-Hehénewa*, and *Aúnwewa*. The second division has no name and consists of the *Bahúkiwa* groups, the *Piaráwa*, and the *Kompainyewa*.

615

554

614

615 PHRATRY II

614

554

361

Bwoibowa The leading sib of the phratry, living at Muchú on the Vaupés. According to tradition, they came from the Isana River originally. They emerged at a rapids called *Aindoribo* at a site called *Hobónoburúno*. Originally they fought with the *Byówa*, now a sister sib of the phratry. Koch-Grünberg encountered an abandoned maloca of theirs at Uarúa Lake, where they had been living adjacent to the Tucanoan-speaking but non-Cubeco *Pamóá*. The indications are that they had moved in recent years considerably downstream on the Vaupés.

Byówa A group occupying all of the Pirabatón, an affluent of the Querarí. Koch-Grünberg placed them at the headwaters of the Querarí, but since he had not identified the Pirabatón that may be the river that he called the upper Querarí. They are strongly intermarried with *Bahúkiwa*.

Hürúwá Members of a foreign phratry living on the Cuduiarí, where they occupy a number of upriver sites, having replaced a *Hehénewa* subtribe. They emerged from a site called *Kohédariwa* above Uaracapuri on the Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg met them in the same locations on the Cuduiarí. He claimed they were originally Arawakan-speaking Baniwa who had wandered in from the Vaupés.

Wadja-Hürúwá A subtribe of the *Hürúwá* at *Kwitóro* on the Cuduiarí.

Korówa Primarily a Querarí River sib that had spilled over onto the Cuduiarí at one time. Wallace reported them there in 1853. They are closely linked with, and according to Koch-Grünberg politically subordinate to, the *Byówa*. In more recent times they have settled on the Vaupés, where they have also been reported by Nimuendajú. They also had a house on the lower Cuduiarí. They are known as *Korókoró-Tapuyo* (Green Ibis Indians).

Walóla A group mentioned by Nimuendajú as living on the Vaupés. Presumably a subtribe of the *Korówa*.

Mianáwa A group occupying several sites in the vicinity of the Tukunaré *igarapes* on the upper Vaupés — *Makakinyo*, *Jacaré*, *Seima* — as well as at Pirabatón *igarapes*. Koch-Grünberg found a small group of only four families living at the Yuruparí falls on the lower Vaupés. Nimuendajú also found them on the Vaupés.

PHRATRY III

(101)

Djurémawa Nimuendajú has identified them as the *Yiboya-Tapuyo* of the Aiari River in Brazil. He says they came to the mouth of the Querarí on the Vaupés in 1904. According to Koch-Grünberg, they were once hostile Arawakan Baniwa who had assimilated to Cubeco and are close kin of the *Káua* of the Aiari. The Uanana, Koch-Grünberg reports, call them *Alaxka-Pinopona* (Boa).

Tóriawú A sib on the Querarí, originally Arawakan-speaking, that claims to have come from the Isana.

Konéntaraboiwú According to Koch-Grünberg, who referred to them as *Kolditalapoaúo*, they were Baniwa Arawakans who settled on the Querarí and assimilated to the Cubeco language. He noted that they were intermarried with the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí. The *Bahúkiwa* also married them. Nimuendajú mentions a *Kowitdrabewi* on the Querarí, perhaps the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963

SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

MACU SQ10

THE SIB

'03

T
615

614

554

361

same people, or possibly a subtribe, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowditarabawü* on the Querari.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querari. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querari as *Dyaniwa*.

Yokókübrwü A sib on the lower Querari.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batúwa Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubü *igarapá*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querari. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ilhéadawa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiari, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiari, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiari.

Káwa A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiari. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakan from the Querari and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiari near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE BORÓWA

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own *cificha*. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

M

T

642

464

T

563

M

[101]

[754]

T

[592]

T

[582]

[614]

[592]

T

[435]

Tukano

796 instruments, the largest of all South American flutes, was later obtained by
[534] Nestor and given to us to bring back to England.

While the men are alone, they carry out a trial of strength to establish the strongest members of the clan. Each man scourges the other on the back, between the head and the waist, with whips made from lianas and monkey hide. There is no fighting, but the women become more and more afraid as [526] from the plantation they listen to their men's cries. With nightfall the sacred Jurupari flutes are carried away from the *maloca* and buried underwater in a secret stream bed. The women and children can return now, and they dance and drink *chicha* throughout the night. The feast is open to everyone. It is said that no outsider has ever witnessed this strange masochistic ceremony which is the nearest thing to initiation known among the Tukano.

88 As a boy grows up, he takes his place with the men. He has his own bow, arrows and curare. He takes cocaine and can wear the full feather head-dress in the tribal dances. He soon chooses a wife from a neighbouring clan, and 582 brings her back to live in his headman's *maloca* and share in the work of the 592 plantation. Though the headman may have two wives, monogamy is the normal rule. Should a young man wish to be independent, he may leave the house of the headman and go off into the jungle to cut his own *chagra* and build his own house.

The forest offers no incentive to communal living. There is always room 462 for more people and other *chagras*, and independence or friction often breaks 592 up the family before economic necessity rules it. On his new land a young Indian will cut the forest for his *chagra*, build a *maloca* and hunt when he has to. But he will do no more than that. It falls to the lot of his wife to provide the daily food: she plants the manioc, harvests and prepares it. She is responsible for the young children. She does the pottery, plaits the *cumare* fibre and makes the hammocks. She is the producer and to her falls the hardest work in their daily lives.

592 Unlike many of the Amazonian Indians who live in village communities, 361 the Tukano live isolated in their *malocas*. A *maloca* is the only centre of human life for miles around, separated by a clearing from the surrounding forest and placed sometimes a mile or more from the river, away from the sandflies, mosquitoes and other insects that plague the banks, and from the prying eyes of enemies and strangers. The only signs of life are the moored canoes, and it may be as much as an hour's walk before the *maloca* is reached along a narrow, almost indiscernible path, which at times seems to fade away into nothing - as indeed it is meant to.

342 A *maloca* is built to vast proportions, often eighty feet from end to end and

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon¹

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.

State University of New York at Binghamton

101
191
197
582

In the central Northwest Amazon, straddling the Brazilian-Colombian border, there is a complex linguistic situation involving more than 25 linguistic groups with a homogeneous culture. Almost every individual knows fluently three, four, or more languages. Only the Maku and the few non-Indians are monolingual. There are four linguistic francas, but only tribal Tukano, doubling as a lingua franca, covers the entire area. The principal reason for this complexity is the insistence on tribal exogamy and the cultural identification of language with tribe. Consequently, a child begins with a personal linguistic repertoire of fluency in his mother's language as well as in his father's; to this he adds a knowledge of other languages in his vicinity. Contact with civilized people for 75 years has not significantly altered this linguistic situation, and periodic attempts to prohibit Indian languages have failed. The political boundary, which separates Portuguese speakers from Spanish speakers, reinforces the linguistic complex, for only Tukano, as a lingua franca, covers the entire culture area. Polylingualism in the individual, rather than monolingualism, is the cultural norm.

THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

Setting and Culture Area

In the central part of the Northwest Amazon, there is a large multilingual area encompassing many tribes, each possessing its own language, where almost every individual is polylingual—he knows three, four, or more languages well. The area of multilingualism coincides largely with the area in which the Tukano tribal language is a lingua franca. This area can be roughly defined as the Vaupés River and its tributaries. (The Vaupés flows into the Rio Negro, which in turn flows into the Amazon.) The region is the size of New England, or slightly larger. About half of it lies in Colombia and half in Brazil. The population is sparse, about 10,000.

161
13
501

The area is in tropical rainforest, its terrain transitional between rolling plain and hilly upland. Geologically it is the most westerly extension of the Guiana highlands. Although some of the rivers are large—the Vaupés is over 1,000 feet wide—navigation, because of the many rapids, is restricted to dugouts and to small boats that can be hauled. This has made for a relative inaccessibility that has helped protect the Indian culture, especially during rubber boom times. The area, however, has not been isolated: there has been continuous contact with civilization since the rubber booms began around 1875.

101
• [361]

Most tribes occupy a delimited, continuous stretch of a river; a few have a discontinuous settlement pattern. Altogether they form one

[P. 670-A]